621 by this missionary. There was at the time only one couple with
[163] three children, while other couples with progeny only had one or two. When Mr. Kegel was in Tampiitáua in 1934, after the departure of the oft-mentioned "20" who had not yet returned in
[161] 1935, he only saw seven houses with 113 occupants. It is to be assumed that a few additional families were absent during the missionary's visit that year, for in 1935 I counted 130 Tapirapé. They were living in the seven houses seen by Mr. Kegel the
[342] previous year, and also in the so-called takana [men's house] and in another hut (marked with the letter g on the ground plan of the village) which was not as finished as the others. The distribution of those 130 individuals among the houses is indicated on the ground plan of the village (Fig. 8).

162 The following table shows the ratios by age, sex, marital
621 status, and progeny. [Table appears here.]

[103:187] It is apparent, therefore, that at the time of this census, made in 1935, there were 70 married individuals and 60 unmarried ones in Tampiitáua.

The 38 men between the ages of 18 and 45 included the fathers of 20 children. The 26 women between the ages of 21 and 60 included the mothers of 32 children. These 64 men and women, therefore, included the fathers and mothers of 52 children.

These 52 children do not include those who were cited as
● [597] stepchildren or adopted offspring. It is possible, furthermore, that they may include step- or adopted children who were not cited as such. In this case, the number of children with a living father or mother, which is already relatively small, would be even smaller.

Among the couples who had issue from their current marriages, there was one with three children, two with two, and five with one child each.

There was a 45-year-old grandfather with a three-year-old granddaughter, and a grandmother of 60 with a granddaughter who was also three. A man of 33 said that he was the grandfather of a girl of five who had neither father nor mother. He may have been the brother of the girl's grandfather.

No less striking than the above figures are the following.

In the age group ranging from less than one year to 14, there were 26 males and 29 females, that is to say, 55 individuals of both sexes.

[Text continues on p. 40]

264 574 476 [262] 431 574 [622] [177] 264 476 574 [554] 123 [597] 264 574 535 [776] 132 574 796 224 264 476 574 [462]

[92] At sundown of the following day, large pots and plates of various foods were carried to the dancing plaza and placed in six sets. These sets tallied with the eating groups. The Kãũũãnõ͡ĩ, owing to their small numbers, had joined the Ãvãinkĩ͡ to form a single group. All those who could do so brought something to eat for their group. There were bananas, peanuts, peanut flour, boiled fish, fish sauce and manioc flour spiced with peppers, several varieties of karáˊ [Tr., a kind of yam], peanut kãũĩ͡, etc. Before that, there was a great distribution of gifts. Each individual offered those people for whom he had special liking or esteem part of his precious possessions, such as beads and similar things. The chiefs received the greater part of this. One man had received three pairs of scissors and found no better use for them than to wear them as pendant ornaments.

Later, the eating groups sat around their pots. Beside them lay the ashes of burnt-out fires. The members of each group squatted together, men, women and children, and ate of everything as they pleased. Kamairahõ, the principal leader, got the best piece, a chunk of chicken, and with his usual courtesy shared it with me, his brother. We called each other "Txankanépéra," and Ampitánya, his little adoptive daughter who sat between us, shouted to me, "Ané Txankanépéra," and I called her by the same terms. The people in the other groups also called me "Txankanépéra," and I called them by the name of their group. We were all in very high spirits.

[93] All the participants in this feast sat so close together that there were no spaces whatever between the groups.

Within a quarter of an hour, everything had been eaten. The pots and plates were removed, and the people scattered. Night came. The plaza was taken over by the masked dancers. They represented "the good shadows" [spirits]. All the "evil shadows" had taken kãũihõ and vanished. The bad rainy weather, with its attendant hunger and illness, the "winter" of northern Brazil, was over. Now began the dry season with its "good shadows," summer.

They say that at the time of the harvest, around September, they also hold one of these common banquets for all the eating groups.

On July 15 I had the opportunity to watch the tãtáupáũã of an eating group. On the previous day, a man of the Ãvãinkĩ͡ had killed with a club a wild pig brought to bay by the dogs. The task of roasting the meat at home fell to the women belonging to this eating group. In payment for this work they were allowed to keep at home certain parts

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
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601 [182] [611] **Kinship.**—Kinship is more important in furthering solidarity among the *Tapirapé* than either the moieties or the feast groups. *Tapirapé* kinship is bilateral, its chief principle being that all cousins, whether cross- or parallel-cousins, no matter how distant, are considered brothers and sisters. Children of people calling each other siblings are also called siblings. Mother's sisters are called mother, and father's brothers, father. Mother's brothers and father's sisters are distinguished by special terms. Similarly, a man's brothers' children are considered his sons and daughters, and a woman's sisters' children are her children. Children of a man's sisters or a woman's brothers are given special terms.

[621] [178] The wide inclusiveness of kinship affiliation makes it possible for an individual to call the majority of his fellow villagers—and in former days many people in other villages—by terms of close relationship.

554 581 597 592 An older man of some prestige gathers around him by adoption as many "daughters" or as many of his wife's "daughters" as possible. By the marriage of these "daughters," he attracts a group of younger men within his household who contribute constantly to his larder through the hunt and garden activities. At present, only three of the nine houses in the village were formed in this way, but reduced numbers, we were told, forced various combinations of relatives to share a household.

LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth.**—Although aware that pregnancy is brought about by sexual intercourse, the *Tapirapé* believe that conception takes place when a shaman, serving as intermediary, brings a "child spirit" to the woman. Thunder, night, monkeys, wild pigs, and various fish and insects are supposed to contain child spirits.

843 When the woman is certain that she is pregnant, she tells her husband. They both paint their bodies with genipa and cover their hair with urucú. During the first few days of pregnancy, no restraints are imposed upon the child's parents, but as birth approaches, all sexual contact must cease. [851] All men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are considered fathers of the future child, together with the real father.

844 At childbirth the woman is assisted by her mother and sister and by two male relatives. The husband retires to his hammock and is forbidden to partake of any liquid refreshment.

847 Infanticide is practiced because it is considered bad to have more than three children, or two children of the same sex. The fourth child, or third of the same sex, of one mother is buried in a hole dug inside the residence for the afterbirth.

852 304 851 262 On the day after birth, a male child has his lower lip perforated. Until the child is weaned, the parents must refrain from sexual relations and must not eat salt, sugar, honey, or the meat of various animals and forest fowls. Both boys and girls also are restricted in their meat diet. A son